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commonweal

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THE MILWAUKEE FOURTEEN

In my dream, Moses with the tablets was climbing off the wall behind the Judge's bench

Linda Forest

WRONG MAN WRONG TIME WRONG PLACE

The trouble is the name. With Latins, Rockefeller means oil; oil means exploitation

Marcio Moreira Alves

***J. M. Cameron** from Britain ● **Peter J. Sammon** from San Francisco ● **Mary Temple** on Negotiation Now ● **Richard Howard** on Ferkiss' Technological Man*

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NEWS & VIEWS

Mace in the Face

Senate subcommittee hearings into Mace and other incapacitating chemical sprays were widely publicized, but a notable piece of testimony was inexplicably overlooked by the press: one spray is actually a mustard gas derivative!

William G. Gunn (sic), president of Smith & Wesson (sic), revealed information about the spray. He said it is foreign-made, has the characteristic mustard gas odor of garlic and horseradish, and can cause corneal ulcers to the eyes.

Gunn wasn't moving to the side of the angels with his warning, not by a long shot. His firm is one of the nation's major manufacturers of hand guns and other equipment for law enforcement and security professionals; that means chemical sprays, too. Gunn is merely against dangerous spray imitations (read, the competition) and indiscriminate use by the public.

Gunn came across as true as a Smith & Wesson .45. He cited chemical sprays as "a humane alternative for the policeman's club and gun." Nor is there any argument with the spraying law-and-order bodies are busy about. "The Berkeley and other police departments use Chemical Mace weapons under carefully prescribed procedures," he commented blissfully. That was May 21.

Those who had read the morning papers must have blinked at that, for front pages that very day were featuring pictures of a helicopter zooming over the Berkeley campus gassing students, faculty members, People's Park demonstrators, tourists and bystanders. Several hundred persons got gassed under Mr. Gunn's "very carefully prescribed procedures."

As for the mustard gas spray, Mr. Gunn, in answer to a question from Senator Moss, elaborated that it is manufactured in West Germany and is being sold over the counter—in handy aerosol can—at the Spy Shop in Washington.

The subcommittee hearings turned up a ton of frightening data like that, but if the public was sobered, you'd never know it. The spray business continues to flourish. Defensive Instruments Inc. has just opened an outlet for its spray, "Preventor," two blocks from the Spy Shop, and sales of at least six different sprays are booming in 41 states.

Meanwhile, General Ordinance Equipment Corp., a Smith & Wesson subsidiary, continues its campaign in behalf of chemical sprays by distributing as part of a press kit an article from *Combat* (sic) vilifying doctors and others who raise their voices against chemical sprays.

Combat labels these people "leftists" with "a special axe to grind," and zeroes in particularly on the Medical Committee for Human Rights —"a leftist clutch of doctors originally founded to bring medical aid to impoverished Southerners." Its sneering level of argumentation is a pretty good measure of the level of altruism of chemical spray manufacturers generally:

"While medical standards have shown no appreciable rise in Dixie as a result of the MCHR's ministrations, the group attracted national attention when its members provided succor to gassed, Maced and clubbed demonstrators at, e.g., the Pentagon and Oakland armed forces induction center (Oct. 1967) and the Democratic convention, Chicago (Aug. 1968)."

MCHR's program with respect to chemical sprays is quite reasonable. It asks that they be properly labeled and controlled, and it wants the Public Health Service to distribute treatment instructions to hospitals and emergency clinics.

Combat, like spray manufacturers generally, takes a public-be-damned position; the problems are in the packaging and merchandising, not with the products. The only danger *Combat* seems willing to admit is possible explosion of the gas canisters, and that problem is almost licked. "Since Mace has an aerosol application—in short bursts or slugs of droplets—the improvement in delivery alone should cut down injuries," *Combat* trumpets, as though that solves everything. It solves, of course, absolutely nothing.

Luv That Bomb

A pretty good idea of the brink on which civilization teeters can be deduced from a study in the June 7 *Economist* of the NATO nuclear arsenal.

The Economist ticks off the range of tactical weapons equipped to carry nuclear warheads. These include atomic shells fired from *203 mm* and *175 mm* guns; ground-to-ground missiles, like *Honest John* and the longer-range *Pershing* and *Sergeant*; ordinary free-falling bombs carried by planes; air-to-surface missiles, such as *Bullpup* and *Handdog;* and surface-to-air missiles, such as *Nike-Hercules.*

Various mixes of these weapons are deployed across the Continent by nine NATO armies and air forces: U.S., Britain, West Germany, Canada, Belgium, Holland, Italy, Greece and Turkey. (Portugal has no nuclear weapons; Norway and Denmark refuse to have nuclear warheads on their territories.)

And cruising the waters are nuclear-armed U.S. submarines.

It's an insane arrangement, one complicated by recent decisions of the NATO Nuclear Planning Group about the circumstances under which its 7,000 nuclear weapons may actually be fired (gone is the old principle that the decision to use tactical nuclear weapons needs unanimous consent of NATO countries); and complicated, too, by the curious reluctance of the Nixon Administration to move quickly toward arms-control negotiations.

Pravda accused the U.S. just the other day of "stalling" the beginning of strategic arms talks. Washington, naturally, denied the charge, but convinced no one particularly. There's a singular lack of urgency in Washington on arms-control, and so long as this attitude persists, accusations such as *Pravda's* will have strong strains of credibility.

Laying It on the Line

—Actress Raquel Welch after her tour of Vietnam: "Sending girls like me to entertain the troops is like teasing a caged lion with a piece of raw meat. I'm not criticizing our boys' feelings or thoughts one bit. I'm just telling you I know what is going through their minds. . . . They are fighting an aimless war in a foreign land where they aren't wanted. . . . Deep down inside, I think it would be best if stars like me stayed home and the government sent off troupes of prostitutes instead."

—Ron Chandonia, salutatorian of Notre Dame's graduating class: "I cannot help thinking that somehow our purpose, however successful, will be less admirable than that of the destitute founding fathers of Notre Dame. For I cannot believe that rock-hewn shrines manned by rock-headed clergymen, the antiquarian curiosities which still dot our campus, were the essence of their lives . . . or of their Christianity. It is those things which remain. But the spirit, the spirit we have forsaken. For that spirit, which had so little to do with our purpose here today, offered the world something so much greater than morally-neutral weapon-wielders and corporate executives." JOHN DEEDY

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CORRESPONDENCE

Military Chaplains

Oak Brook, Ill.

To the Editors: Leaving aside Philip Nobile's remarks attempting to disparage a great chaplain hero and the American Military chaplains ["I Never Met Any Priest Who Suggested Withdrawal," May 2], I would like to address a few words to Gordon Zahn apropos his "What Did You Do During The War Father?"

For a sociologist, I am surprised at Zahn's unscholarly approach to the chaplains' role in the military. He has great sympathy over the desertion of the few who actually leave for reasons of conscience but shows little sympathy for the clergyman who tries to conscientiously do his job for the man in uniform. Zahn does research on the chaplain in the RAF and concludes by saying "but there is little reason to doubt that American chaplains would give pretty much the same answers." This conclusion is scientifically inaccurate and from my military experience in the U.S. Army I know it to be wrong. He insults this outstanding cross-section of American clergymen in the military by picturing them as theologically untrained and insensitive and having to be put straight by *sociologist*, Gordon Zahn.

With a little more research Zahn might have been able to give a fair presentation of the chaplain's role regarding his official interview with the conscientious objector. The very limited and clearly specified task of the chaplain in filling out a special interview form is covered by Army regulations. As pastor and an Army chaplain, he is not supposed to try to dissuade a CO from his views. I hope that all military chaplains will give a CO an understanding hearing and back up the man in following his conscience. But there still is the law of the land regarding the

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Latin America, *con* Cuba

The most depressing detail about the Rockefeller mission to Latin America is the confirmation it extends to the narrow dimensions of U.S. policy regarding our neighbor continent. Marcio Moreira Alves focuses on aspects of this policy and its unhappy results for Latin America elsewhere in this issue when he criticizes the composition and timing of the Rockefeller mission and the determination to see the mission through to its bloody and useless programmatic end. But Senor Alves' complaints, serious and legitimate as they are, only begin to scratch the surface of the U.S.'s Latin American folly; there remains that paternalism, which is essentially exploitive in character, and that psyche, which is blind to the idiocy of so much of what the U.S. is—and is not—about in Latin America.

The Rockefeller mission is a perfect case in point: showy, superficial and totally insensitive to the moods of Latin America. The mission, in addition, labors under the traditional ineptitude of U.S. policy on Latin America. The Nixon Administration's dallying on the appointment of an Assistant Secretary for Latin American Affairs and its handling of the change of ambassadors to the Organization of American States did nothing to quicken hopes that Washington viewed Latin American problems with any new sense of urgency, just as Mr. Nixon's slurring references to the Alliance for Progress and his libeling of Latin American universities ("one of the most inferior systems of education anywhere in the world") could only help confirm for Latins the contempt in which they sense they are held by the U.S. Circumstances such as these foredoomed any U.S. mission.

The blame for bungling the Rockefeller mission rests immediately with Mr. Nixon, but the unfortunate fact is that, with the possible exception of John F. Kennedy, it could have been any American president going back to James Monroe making a botch of the tour. The irony in the present situation is the evidence it supplies of the inability of U.S. leaders to learn lessons about Latin America even from their own experience. If anything should have acquainted Mr. Nixon with the depth and intensity of Latin American grievances, it should have been his own hapless tour of 1958; if anything

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should have educated him to the explosive nature of the triumphalist, jet-speed approach to Latin American problems, it should have been his own pelting with garbage and abuse. The issues are too complex and strained not to be severely aggravated by the circus-train swing on which Mr. Nixon dispatched Mr. Rockefeller. The Venezuelan communiqué cancelling the Rockefeller visit to that country stated the painfully obvious when it commented that U.S.-Latin American relations needed, rather, "profound study and careful and exhaustive analysis."

It is possible that, owing to a combination of Latin American initiative and a U.S. contrition which hopefully is not momentary, this is what these problems may at last receive. Twenty-one Latin American nations have presented to Mr. Nixon a 46-point manifesto outlining new bases for social and economic cooperation, covering such items as trade, aid and terms of investment. Mr. Nixon, in turn, is receptive to the manifesto and holds out the promise of new U.S. policy on Latin America.

Let us hope new policy will materialize, and that new policy will be comprehensive—that it will redefine political as well as economic relationships, particularly regarding two phenomena not unrelated to tensions between the continents: (1) U.S. proclivity for right-wing, repressive cliques, and (2) official U.S. attitudes on Cuba. The last is no less important than any other consideration, since no fair policy toward Latin America can possibly exclude fair policy toward Cuba—that is, not without prejudicing that policy from the outset.

An ideal starting point on new Cuban policy is the suggestion advanced last April by Cuba's eight Catholic bishops and subsequently seconded by the Department of International Affairs of the U.S. Catholic Conference: a lifting by the U.S. of its Cuban trade embargo.

There are compelling humanitarian reasons for such an action; the embargo, as the Cuban bishops noted, is contributing to unnecessary suffering and is obstructing the attainment of the full human development of the Cuban people. Washington should not be indifferent to the human problems which the bishops cite. By the same token, it need not be unaware of the political advantages embodied in an open and generous, as distinct from psychotic, policy toward Cuba. More than that, it should not be unaware that a new Cuban policy is likely the key to a new and successful Latin American policy.

Summer Schedule

In keeping with the usual practice, *Commonweal* is again appearing on alternate weeks during July-September. Forthcoming issues will be dated July 11, July 25, August 8, August 22, September 5, and September 19. From then on, we will resume our normal weekly publishing schedule.

U. S. Campus War Through English Eyes

Canterbury

Whatever we may say in England, we continue to find the United States fascinating both in itself and as the image of a possible future. This is above all true of teachers and administrators in the universities. Many of them are familiar with American universities; and nowadays, whenever they come across 30 or 40 young men and women holding up banners and posters with a variety of messages on the steps of the administration building or in front of the examination schools they think nervously of Berkeley in the days of Savio and of all that has happened to the American universities and colleges since.

It is true, the young men here are hirsute in the Victorian style and resemble nothing so much as portraits of the young Mill or the young Dickens, and it is therefore hard to understand the choking rage of solid citizens when confronted with so rich a feast of ringlets and whiskers. The young women are less tied to a period, though one can pick out here and there a George Eliot or a Harriet Martineau or a little girl in a Kate Greenaway drawing. Nothing could very well be less frightening than most of these assemblies. But what if there should be a line leading from the march of the 56 on the administration building at the University of Barsetshire to the armed occupation of the Willard Straight Hall at Cornell?

First Harvard, then Cornell, these incidents shook many of us. It is getting nearer, we said to ourselves; and whereas we had been indifferent or even inclined to applaud in the case of Berkeley's troubles, for example, now there was no disposition to stay unconcerned. *The Times* (London) had an article on the occupation of Willard Straight Hall and this produced an interesting correspondence. The interest lies in its manifesting a variety of attitudes now current among the educated not only to questions about the universities but also to questions about race and politics.

The first was from a British graduate student. He defended the taking of arms by black students at Cornell on the grounds that, first, there are white para-military organizations about which no one gets excited; secondly, there is reason to think the occupants of Willard Straight were threatened by armed whites, perhaps by a local "vigilante" group; thirdly, the Black Power movement is on the whole a good thing because American institutions are not flexible enough to bring black people into American society on a level of equality. He ended with a sentiment that is so remarkable that it should be no-

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ted. "It will probably never be possible for whites or blacks to understand each other completely."

Thus his far-ranging defense of black militancy ends in the proverbial wisdom of the white suburb. It is surprising he did not go on to murmur into his mint julep that "they really prefer to associate with their own people." Once one allows oneself to defend racism and racist politics, the racism of the rulers or the racism of the oppressed, one ends face down in the puddle of such muddy wisdom. Nothing is more painful than to hear the liberal defender of black anti-semitism remind us that the black man in the toils of the Jewish shopkeeper or moneylender in the ghetto cannot be blamed for his hostility to the Jews. The same paltry justification was offered for the anti-Semitic rage of the German petty bourgeoisie. When to this is added support for the combination of Moscow Communists, venal politicians and oil millionaires that together compose the Arab interest in international politics, one runs out of fitting descriptive or evaluative terms.

The riposte came from Professor Matthew Hodgart of the University of Sussex. He was just returned from Cornell and gave us an inside account of what had been going on and a fine display of liberal academic passion. He questioned the representative character of the Afro-American Society, gave a detailed history of earlier incidents in which these black militants had been involved, told us that on the night of 17 April a fiery cross had been lighted near the black women's dormitory (what on earth is a self-respecting university doing with a black women's dormitory?), described the moral collapse of the faculty and the administration before the militants' demands. His conclusion was that "the university government degenerated into a banana republic; brainwashing by fear and by liberal guilt produced a weird euphoria analogous to the after-Munich days."

Hodgart's letter brought a number of replies defending black militancy and the policy of admission without qualifications to universities, on the usual grounds of the historic wrongs suffered by the Negro population, the racist bias of white America and so on. One of Professor Hodgart's critics supposed that in referring to a "weird euphoria analogous to the after-Munich days" he was likening the militant black students to the Nazis. Such astonishing ignorance of history is fairly typical of the student Left in this country.

The bottom was perhaps touched by a lecturer in "education" (a non-subject which exists here as well as in the United States) who thought it relevant to inform us that a Professor Arthur Jensen had written an article showing that the average intelligence of Negroes was about fifteen points below that of whites; thus, he argued, it would be unrealistic to expect that Negroes would be found in universities in proportion to their numbers in the total population. He didn't mention the proportion of Negroes in the armed forces in Vietnam. This might, granted the logic of his argument, have thrown a curious light on the intellectual requirements of modern warfare. Also, he didn't tell us how long it would take to put a black man on the moon.

The depressing moral of much that was written in the correspondence is that many of the young men on the Left in Britain are prepared to abase themselves before the cult of Black Power. Some of them are concerned primarily with the weakening of bourgeois society and no doubt hope that where black militants have widened the breach the SDS will be able to enter and occupy the territory. But to mouth the slogans of racism and to school ignorant and violent people in the racist syndrome is a more dangerous procedure than they know.

I read the other day that the brother of Medgar Evers was elected mayor of his town in the Deep South. This has a richer significance than the news from Cornell; and this would still be true even if the twisted men who shot Medgar were to shoot his brother. Black power, black culture, black teachers for black pupils: it is not hard to understand why young Negroes should for a time fall for this looking-glass version of the racism that has poisoned the outlook of so many white Americans. It is harder to understand the white sycophants who cheer them on, perhaps to destruction. J. M. CAMERON

(J. M. Cameron, English correspondent for Commonweal, *is a professor of philosophy and Master of Rutherford College in the University of Kent at Canterbury.)*

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No Passing Grade For Hayakawa

Peace has returned to the San Francisco State campus with the signing of a joint agreement on March 20, 1969. But it is a peace fraught with uneasiness as the campus community faces a host of unresolved problems. Many hoped that the agreement would begin a new era of trust and cooperation between the administration and the student body. Thus far this hope has not been realized. Acting President S. I. Hayakawa has evinced a continuing desire to maintain control of student affairs.

The present almost dictatorial supervision of what were formerly strictly student-body concerns is all the more striking because of the excellent relations between students and administration in past years. Far-seeing administrators in the early 1960's had taken steps to make San Francisco State an open and creative campus where student responsibility and autonomy in many areas were encouraged. The famous Free Speech Movement at Berkeley caused scarcely a ripple at San Francisco State because the legitimate goals of that movement were already a reality there. Campus leaders had ready access to

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the offices of the college administrators. The student body leaders initiated and funded from student-body fees programs of national prominence such as the Experimental College. They went into the community to answer social and educational needs by a tutorial program and work-study projects in ghetto areas. Literally thousands of dollars of student body funds were spent in these programs designed to help the community. Creativity, autonomy and responsibility were the hallmarks of student activity in the last few years. That situation has changed dramatically.

The strike led President Hayakawa to declare a state of emergency on campus. All public gatherings were banned. Hayakawa himself took pains to condemn publicly not only the strike leaders but student body officers for their support of the strike issues. The State Attorney General's office then initiated an investigation of the handling of student-body funds. These funds were frozen by the courts, thus endangering the community programs mentioned above.

Hayakawa's next step was to cut off funds from the student newspaper, *The Gater,* because of its support of the strike and criticism of his methods. He paradoxically defended his action as being in the interests of protecting "free speech" on campus.

The most threatening factor in the eyes of faculty and students has been Hayakawa's handling of campus disciplinary cases resulting from the strike. Several hundred students were arrested by the police and the civil courts are now processing their cases. A number of students are also charged with campus violations and these are cases for the college itself. The interim juridical procedures set up by Hayakawa brought forth a storm of protest, particularly from the faculty. The Academic Senate pointed out to the President that his procedures were "in direct opposition to accepted policy and procedures adopted by the American Association of University Professors and subsequently by associations of university presidents. . . ."

The Senate did not request amnesty for all students but only for the due process it found lacking in these procedures. Many faculty, fearful that grave injustice may be done certain students, have refused to serve on the hearing panels. Some particular objections were the use of a police report as evidence without the opportunity to cross-examine the arresting officer; the jeopardy that an adverse decision by the campus court may prejudice their case in the civil court; and the statement that although evidence should be "substantial," the panel need only be "reasonable persuaded" to assess guilt to the individual. In each case the panel makes a confidential report to the President who then notifies the student of the action to be taken. The only appeal from such a decision is directly to the President again. Thus Hayakawa has set up the procedures, has the power of final decision and is the only court of appeal. This places the academic future of these students solely in the hands of one man with no possible recourse to other members of the administration or to the faculty as a body.

Mid-May witnessed another curtailment of student rights. The Associated Student Body officers restored a former requirement for candidates for student offices, raising the necessary grade-point-average from 2.0 to 2.5. This eliminated some of those candidates on the slate of officers favored by Hayakawa. He sought a delay in the elections to fill these vacancies. When the student leaders refused, he had the voting machines borrowed from the city removed from the campus during the night. The Associated Student Body leaders proceeded with the election on the advice of their attorney, and the liberal slate won. Hayakawa declared their election illegal and another conflict is in process.

Student responsibility and autonomy stand severely threatened. The Acting President has now assumed what amounts to almost dictatorial powers over such student affairs as the student newspaper, their funds (which have come from student—not college—fees) and disciplinary penalties. Many hoped the March 20th agreement would mark the end of the "emergency condition" and would enable the school to return to a situation of trust and cooperation between the President and the student leaders. They also presumed that by this time Hayakawa would have moved away from his hard-line position in which he described key strike leaders as "a gang of goons, gangsters, con-men, neo-Nazis and common thieves." Instead in May—over two months since the agreement—we find him moving into a decisive role in the choice of student body officers favorable to his position.

Some faculty members feel that Hayakawa is keenly aware that he needs continuing conflicts such as the election issue to keep his image before the public. Few of his colleagues feel he has any desire to remain a college administrator for long. His present national prominence can well lead to a political career. If this is his goal, it might explain, at least in part, why he seeks to maintain his hard-line emergency policies.

There is one sign of hope on the campus. All parties concerned, both students and administration, are hard at work implementing such details of the March 20th settlement as the Black Studies and Ethnic Studies Programs. Financing these programs still remains a major problem, but the fact that these steps are being taken is evidence that the strike did achieve positive results.

However, both white and minority group students who struggled for changes in the educational system cannot be too hopeful at the present moment. If they are not allowed to exercise the proper control of their own affairs —newspaper, funds, projects, etc.—they cannot be overly optimistic about having any continuing influence in educational matters without enduring another agonizing struggle such as the four-month strike. PETER J. SAMMON

(Father Peter J. Sammon is chaplain at San Francisco State's Newman Center.)

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WRONG MAN WRONG TIME WRONG MISSION

Fat and fatuous Americans in a poor and hungry Continent

MARCIO MOREIRA ALVES

If President Nixon has his way, the Rockefeller mission to Latin America will proceed to its bloody end, for, having lost any political aim it might have had, it became a contest of endurance and an affirmation of courage that leaves no place for the advice of most governments concerned against the unwanted proconsul's tour. It must be said, for the Governor's benefit, that King Midas himself, wrapped in gold but waving the Stars and Stripes, would have met with the same reception. This, however, does not excuse the blunder which the nomination was in the first place. President Nixon showed, choosing Mr. Rockefeller, the same political adroitness the West German government would had if it sent Herr Joseph Goebbels, Jr., as ambassador to Israel. Nothing personal, of course.

No one doubts Mr. Rockefeller's knowledge of Latin American affairs. He is an old hand in the Continent and must know his way around quite well, for his personal investments in the provinces are huge and varied. His happy nature, fixed smile and command of Spanish also make him a simpatico visitor—if human qualities are important for this sort of mission. The trouble is the name. No other is more related in the minds of Latin Americans to American imperialism. Rockefeller means oil; oil means exploitation. (A particularly morbid joke making the rounds of Santiago these days says the mission must go on, as the large consumption of Molotov cocktails it brings about increases the profits of Standard Oil.)

All this must have been known to the State Department or, at least, to the CIA, but was overshadowed by other considerations President Nixon must have had in mind when he made his choice. Brazil's ex-dictator Getulio Vargas had a political motto: the best way to demoralize an opponent is to appoint him minister. Who knows if Vargas' motto hasn't been incorporated into American party politics?

What were the objectives of Mr. Rockefeller's mission? Implicitly, it was to gain time, which the new administration would supposedly use for establishing a Latin American policy. This had not yet been proposed in view of the inferior priority the Continent has among U.S. world problems. Explicitly, it was a "fact-finding" and a prestige mission. The timing and schedule were particularly ill chosen. The Rockefeller task force took off right after the CECLA (Coordinating Economic Commission for Latin America) meeting, in Viña del Mar, Chile. The foreign ministers of the most important Latin American countries signed a statement there on what their governments thought were the most urgent problems they had with the United States. It is a fact that these ministers do not speak for most of their peoples, but it is presumed that they all speak for their administrations.

It is highly doubtful if there is anything to be known about Latin America which is not already found in the State Department's files and Pentagon computers or stored in American university libraries. The economic ills of each and all countries have long been debated at an unending string of ineffectual conferences, which stretch from the launching of the Alliance for Progress, in Punta del Este, to last year's II UNCTAD conference in New Delhi. The social conditions of the Continent's great masses have also been the subject of countless academic studies, sociological publications and political

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statements. The political systems prevailing in most countries were brought about or are being maintained by American policy and would hardly be "discovered" now by the flying visitors.

With no facts to find, we are left with prestige as the mission's goal. Latin American governments have, for some time, felt orphans of Washington's attention. The Fidel Castro scare was replaced by the more real and dreary realities of Vietnam and the Middle East. The Alliance for Progress' funds, never great, dwindled to a trickle insufficient even for a Bolivian general's thirst. American public money, welcomed by the dominant classes as soon as they realized that the social reform aims stated at Punta del Este were only for the record's sake, became offensively scarce. Perhaps Mr. Rockefeller would bring back some hopes of straightening out this sad state of affairs? Maybe this hope was behind the only enthusiastic public welcome he got, when Nicaragua's Anastacio Somoza called him "friend, philanthropist and diplomat." But, if the visit was meant to be a classical Latin American "face-saving" enterprise, why a jet-set schedule?

No one is greatly flattered if an important visitor drops in, followed by a horde of architects, plumbers, pediatricians, psychologists and behavior technicians and says: "Hi, fellows! We are very much interested in the state of your house and family, but we can only stay for ten minutes, as we have to see your neighbor too." This sort of approach goes down even worse with governments. True, the mission tried to sell the idea of American efficiency even to the point of including IBM's president. But, for all its efficiency and the magic which Latin America's presidents might see in U.S. technology and Apollo 10, a stay of 22 hours in a country, slashed to 130 minutes in a Bolivian airport, might still be regarded as a slightly hasty trip.

Up to now, only official reactions have been considered. What about popular reaction, responsible for dropping Venezuela from the program, or combined reactions, responsible for avoiding Peru?

In the case of the Alvarado regime, the military gathered popular support for their take-over by quickly acting on the International Petroleum Company problem. IPC is a subsidiary of the Standard Oil of New Jersey and its legal claims for exploiting the Peruvian concessions were thin. Nevertheless, the company got full backing from the State Department, complete with threats of applying the Hickenlooper Amendment, the suspension of sugar quotas and whatever other pressure the American government could muster. This came as a blessing to the Peruvian generals. From there on, they found a new reason to exist and control power. What's more: they are building a model that is quickly making the rounds of Latin America's barracks: that of an anti-imperialistic military dictatorship.

A military coup d'état used to have a recipe as simple as a jelly pudding. Once a populist civilian government was no longer able to mediate between popular needs and the dominant classes' privileges, of which foreign interests are part, the military would step in to save the country from Communism and corruption. They acted not only from greed for power, but, according to the rules of the "internal aggression" theory they had learned from the Pentagon, as a justification for the maintenance of large and expensive armies in a Continent where a war is unlikely. The "internal aggression" theory has been taught, by American inspiration, in all war colleges of the Continent since the Cold War started. It states that an armed struggle between the Russian-Communist bloc and the Christian-Democratic world is inevitable. As Latin-American armies are too weak to take a front-line part in it, their double contribution is expected to be: unconditional loyalty to the leader of the Christian-Democratic civilization, the United States, and control of their own countries, which might be subjected to "internal communist aggression."

Tomorrow's Military Totem

All Manichean doctrines are very comfortable, but this one began to leak when the U.S.-USSR love-affair became too obvious. Castroism and Maoism are the revamped, but less glamorous devils of today. Anti-imperialism may be the military totem of tomorrow. An indication of this lies in the incorporation of the aloof air-force brass in the Alvarado regime after his Columbus' egg was discovered. They are now happy as birds, having found a practical use for their brand new "Mirage" bombers: buzzing American fishing boats that invade their 200-mile territorial-waters limit.

The tardy discovery of their country's submission to American economic domination is the reason for the Peruvian military government's refusal to greet Mr. Nixon's ambassador. Students and workers all over the Continent arrived at the same knowledge long before. That is why they are willing to face police clubs, tear gas and bullets to express their hopes of freedom and desires for change.

Americans tend to react with a childish feeling of rejection against hostile worldwide public opinion. Individually, they are generally nice and candid, so they don't seem to realize why they are unwanted—with all their giant corporations, Marine battalions and free-enterprise ideology. Perhaps the weakness of the American Empire lies in not having built a strong "white man's burden" mentality in its citizens. This, of course, may also be its moral salvation, but there is hardly a place for a conscience in the dialectics of empire building. The British were far simpler. They were ruthless and happy, as long as the world's ransoms piled up in London.

Mr. Rockefeller is an American, if anything. His reactions to the violence his presence provoked were quite

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predictable: they ran from paternalism—when he said in Costa Rica that the "students had the civic impulse that will enable them to lead their communities in the future, but I came here to talk not to them, but to the people responsible for the governments of their countries"—to moral outrage, when he commented on the demonstration in Ecuador and its bill of six deaths, saying "it was a shame."

American public opinion is asking a few questions today: where is anti-Americanism stronger? Why the riots? What legitimacy do they have? There isn't, of course, any precise mechanism to measure anti-Americanism. A head count wouldn't do, for if it did Ecuador would, at this point, come out ahead, while in Colombia the riots were worse, despite only one dead among the 200 wounded. In Brazil, for instance, the repression of student and worker movements is normally so bloody that manifestations would probably be small—if Mr. Rockefeller ever gets there. This doesn't mean, however, that anti-American feelings are slight in the country. The same could be said of Argentina, where the permanent struggle against Ongania's regime doesn't leave any tactical space for special demonstrations in honor of visiting newsmen and ambassadors. On the other hand, in Uruguay and Chile, where the institutions allow a greater freedom of expression, the demonstrations would probably be immense and wild.

Are the visits legitimate? This is another difficult question to answer for legitimacy is a matter of very personal opinion. The best that can be done is a little "fact-finding" since this is apparently a fad.

Aid comes in the first place. If you speak of it to any knowing Latin American he will immediately scream for help. Why? According to the "Survey of Current Business" new American investments in Latin America from 1950 to 1965 amounted to $3.8 billion, permitting, together with old holdings, the transfer of $11.3 billion to the United States. And how is this drainage financed? One has only to quote Celso Furtado, a Brazilian exiled economist, now teaching at the Sorbonne: "In the period between 1958 and 1964 total investment of American subsidiary firms in Latin America amounted to 4.310 million dollars, of which 815 million were supplied by funds brought from the U.S. Latin American funds were twice as great as those from the U.S. However, the main source of financing were the subsidiaries themselves. If one has in mind that these subsidiaries distributed 42 percent of their benefits as dividends, the conclusion is that two-thirds of the funds imported from the U.S. could have been covered by local profits, which leads us to the acknowledgement that these firms could have financed 94 percent of their extraordinary expansion, independent of American funds."

The UN Economic Commission for Latin America (CEPAL) has hardly sweeter words for official aid. In a report submitted to the Viña del Mar Conference of Foreign Ministers, CEPAL says: "The special conditions that regulate American financial assistance, through AID, determine changes in the monetary and foreign trade policies of the Latin American countries which are discriminatory towards the rest of the world and should be regarded as offensive to the process of the Continent's economic integration."

Balancing Our Deficit

The fact is that the poor and hungry Continent is financing, to a very considerable extent, the United States' balance of payments deficit. But this is not all. There is also what the economist's jargon terms "deterioration of the terms of trade." Translated, this means that Latin America, and indeed all the Third World, sees the prices of the raw materials it exports progressively falling, while the prices of the machinery and manufactured goods it imports continuously rise at a still faster rate.

Last, but by all means not at all least, there is a psychological influence. What would an American think of the Germans if he rose in the morning to brush his teeth with Colgate, bathe with Palmolive, shave with Gillette, ride to town in a GM bus or a Ford, eat a Wilson hamburger with Borden's milk for lunch, work for Union Carbide or IBM, drawing a check from First National, buy a headache tablet from Parke-Davis and his baby's diapers from Johnson and, finally getting home, put on his GE TV set, using Light & Power electricity, to see a good old MGM movie on a *Time* and *Life* TV station, if all these companies were German? And, on top of all this, if he knew that any reaction to this teutonic invasion would promptly bring to New York the overwhelming forces of the Wehrmacht and the napalm bombs of the Luftwaffe, how Germanophile would he be? Not much, probably, even if he didn't care if it were the Germans that controlled 80 percent of his country's copper, as American firms do in Chile, almost all its bananas, as they do in Ecuador and Central America, a good part of its coffee exports, as in Colombia and Brazil, all of its oil, as in Venezuela, most of its fishing business and banks, as in Peru, and a considerable part of its meat, as in Argentina and Uruguay.

Mr. Rockefeller will, if he can, continue his Latin American safari. It will be against the opinion of most governments concerned, for not only are they reluctant to shoot their subjects on the streets and close down their universities, but they would rather deal as a bloc with the United States instead of bilaterally. Rockefeller's trip might only have a meaning now for U.S. internal political consumption. The results may be a few other student and worker scalps for the trophy room. For American diplomacy it is a tremendous defeat. For the liberation movements in an enslaved Continent, it may be the path to union.

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MOSES AND THE MILWAUKEE 14

'Guilty of the crimes of burglary, arson and theft'

LINDA FOREST

IN my dream, the portrait of Moses with the tablets was climbing off the wall behind the Judge's bench; Moses was striding down the aisle of the courtroom with his hands lifted in the victory sign—as he reached the door, he turned and flashed a Charlton Heston grin to the jurors and vanished in a puff of smoke. The spectators were grinning and applauding and the jury expelled a collective ahhhhhhhhh. They were proud of themselves for having found their eyes and ears and hearts.

"Your honor, we have reached a verdict. We unanimously find the defendants not guilty. We ask the Court's permission to be excused from our duties at this time so that we may go out and shout the good news to all our friends and families that today we have understood that man is more precious and more sacred than any property or any law, that we have discovered community with one another and with all those here who believe that they are indeed responsible for each other, everywhere. We have seen and we have heard. We wish to share this."

Each juror was met at the door by a Ford Country Squire station wagon driven by a woman in bermudas with a squirming kid in the carseat beside her. Many of the cars bore Milwaukee 14 bumper stickers. They dispersed to the suburbs, the jurors excitedly explaining to the wife and kids that today a revolution had taken place in their hearts, that they were turning a new leaf, that there was indeed something uniting them with the students and radicals and that something was a kind of resurrection pride in being human and helping others to be more human.

In my dream, faith and hope were carried to the suburbs and thence to the farms and all the little great nignoggy communities of straight America. In my dream, a renewed commitment and sense of brotherhood were carried back to communes and dorms and inner-city apartments. In my dream.

That dream had swirled in my head for two weeks, for all 11 days of the trial. It ended abruptly. Monday afternoon, May 26, the defendants completed their closing statements to the jury.

"It takes courage to see not just draft files or slavery records on fire, but human flesh . . . it also takes courage to listen to the crackle of flames as they consume human beings. It also takes courage to hear the human heart . . . the count of a young man's heartbeat as he opens the letter from the Selective Service which begins 'Greetings . . .' " These remarks from Jim Forest actually brought tears to the eyes of one juror. Surely they had been touched!

The 14, having completed closing statements, the Judge issues his instructions to the jury—instructions so noisy with obedience to The Law that they almost drowned out the words of gentle hope. The jury went off to deliberate, and we were instructed to be available by telephone in order to return to court for the verdict. Certainly there was time for dinner, for a beer, for being together a while longer before returning.

The jury took 1 hour to reach its unanimous decision and to eat dinner.

Throughout the trial there had been hundreds of supporters jammed into the courtroom and the corridors outside. They had waited and watched for two weeks, and as they reassembled now for the delivery of the verdict, there was the predictable tension, the predictable speculation. But there was more. There was the unspoken pain and frustration and hope-against-hope that perhaps here, at this time, at this place, *now* (we need it), perhaps all the energy of faith in nonviolence could possibly be affirmed by a handful of men and women who represented the greater community.

"We the jury find the defendant Jon Hubert Higginbotham, Jr., guilty of the crimes of burglary, arson and theft."

"We the jury find the defendant Father Lawrence Rosebaugh guilty of the crimes of burglary, arson and theft."

"We the jury find the defendant Father Alfred Lawrence Janicke guilty of the crimes . . . ."

Twelve defendants. Three charges each. Thirty-six times the word "guilty" rang through the courtroom. Thirty-six bombs dropped on a rice paddy. Thirty-six infants shoveled into a mass grave. Thirty-six flag-draped coffins from Vietnam waiting on the San Francisco pier.

And the sad-eyed basset on the bench commended his jury, saying "Thank you, ladies and gentlemen of the jury, for doing a courageous job in the face of a court-

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room filled with supporters of the defendants. You have exercised your duties as citizens in a most commendable manner."

Sister Joanne Malone, one of the DC-9, rose and shouted, "We thank you too, ladies and gentlemen of the jury, for finding Jesus Christ guilty once again."

Her words ricocheted around the courtroom, bouncing off mahogany eagles and gilded eagles and red-white-and-blue Brooks Brothers eagles eliciting an eruption of applause from spectators who earlier had been advised by the Court that they would be held in contempt for "demonstrativeness."

The storm of applause was the catalyst. Bailiffs scuttled like roaches from unseen hiding places, dragging supporters out of the courtroom by hair, feet, clothing, pitching them into the waiting camera lights where "the whole world was watching"—or at least the Metropolitan Milwaukee community. That same community from which a jury of "peers" had been laboriously selected.

During the melee in the spectators area, I found myself and several others being hustled before the bench for contempt—for bringing my two hands together to produce a noise which might drown out the confusion which screamed from all our insides. Behind us, a strong wall of singing outside in the corridors: "We Shall Overcome." The supporters received the human bundles pitched into their midst with song. Up front, before the Judge, we held hands. Familiar arms went around me; my husband was taking me to the defendants' table as the courtroom was being cleared.

During the course of the trial, several of the Fourteen had made spontaneous objections to various points or references on the part of the Judge or prosecutors. Although it seemed at the time that such remarks were technically in contempt of the court, Judge Larson characteristically preserved his court record and his public image as a man "of great patience" by either choosing to overlook the statements or merely exclaiming "now then, Mr. Ojile, you *know* that's improper. . . ."

But now the spectators had been ejected physically from the courtroom. The jury had been dismissed. Only a handful of relatives and the Fourteen remained. Judge Larson had, of course, kept notes. Before permitting them to leave, he cited three of the defendants on contempt charges for remarks they had made criticizing the court during proceedings. Fred Ojile had, among other things, submitted a motion to dismiss on the grounds of the Judge's incompetence. Doug Marvy had told him he ought to resign. Jon Higginbotham had called him "despicable." By no means were these remarks merely frivolous—to the contrary. The whole tone of the entire proceedings as set by the defense was one of a highly personal, articulate and sober nature. But the defense was based on morality, an approach in deep contrast to the frustrating rigidity of "The Law." But righteous indignation is not only the prerogative of the judiciary, as the Fourteen proved so well.

As Larson continued to cite his reasons for the charges, tiny pregnant Jean Ojile stood up beside her husband looking not unlike David with his slingshot and quickly retorted, "If my husband is guilty of contempt then you'd better charge me, too, because I'm certainly in contempt of this court."

Father Jim Harney jumped in, criticizing Larson for not citing the three at the time of the incidents but waiting until the jury and the spectators had been dismissed. The Judge soon disposed of his "characteristic patience" and cited Harney for contempt as well. "Thanks a lot, Judge. Good luck to you too."

The Milwaukee Fourteen were released on bail pending sentencing June 6th. [Sentences pronounced were two years each, for arson and theft, to run concurrently, and four years' probation for burglary. The Federal case was dismissed. THE EDITORS] In a vague sort of way the proceedings were over. Defendants, wives, relatives emerged from the courtroom into a waiting crowd of singing, embracing supporters, most of whom bore black crosses on their foreheads—crosses placed on foreheads by fingers dipped in the ashes of burnt draft cards and five dollar bills. One of the first sacraments of the Resistance had made its way into the hallowed halls of "Justice."

THE use of the courtroom as a political forum is a vital component of actions like the Milwaukee Fourteen. During the trial of the 14, motivational issues broadened and new ones emerged, especially that of lay advocacy. The trial had originally been set for May 5th. Well in advance, attorneys for the 14 (William Kunstler, Marc Stickgold, Percy Julian) had submitted motions to preempt State charges on the grounds that federal charges took precedence in this case, which was indeed a political act and not, as the State contended, a clearcut case of burglary, arson and theft. In an almost unprecedented move, both District Attorneys supported the defense motions and recommended to the Judge that the case be put aside in favor of the federal trial, which was set for June 9. At one point in pre-trial negotiations, Judge Larson agreed to put the State trial over to June 23rd, well past the federal date. Three hours later the same day, he broke his word and set State trial date for May 12—eight days away. (During that three hour interim, several of the 14 had started back home, trusting in Larson's commitment to the 23rd.) In a subsequent conference with attorneys, it was revealed that Judge Larson had been pressured by "a political power very high up" who insisted that the 14 be prosecuted, and *soon*. What else transpired between Judge and "friend" could only be speculated upon, but previous events lent credibility to the speculation that it was agreed that a fair trial was impossible in the State of Wisconsin.

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The 14 and their attorneys agreed that the case had been pre-structured to the point where political issues might never have a voice if argued in conventional legal methods. The decision was made to release the defense attorneys—the 14 would conduct their own defense. A press conference was called, the political manipulations exposed, and the announcement made that the 14 were defending themselves.

From the outset, the advantages of lay advocacy were dramatically obvious. Unfettered by lawyers' codes of ethics, ignorant of "procedural technique," the 14 moved rather freely through a normally rigid structure. Press reports labeled the defense table as a "formidable brain trust of BAs, MAs and Ph.Ds." Each defendant testified for himself, being examined by his co-defendants. Each defendant made an opening and closing statement to the jury. Everybody got a piece of the action, even mild-mannered Judge Larson, who endured this highly personal fluid and naked approach as well as a one-armed paperhanger with the itch.

Time and time again the prosecution labeled testimony about the illegality of the Vietnam war, the unconstitutionality of the draft, the issues of race and poverty in America as "irrelevant." Time and again his objections were sustained. Tension, swelled to a high point mid-way in the trial when Judge Larson refused to allow Dr. Robert Fried, one-time attaché to the United Nations, consultant to the Nuremberg tribunal and international lawyer, to testify on behalf of the defense. Fried did manage to wedge in the comment that in his considered opinion, "the United States has, by its intervention in Vietnam, violated essential provisions of the United Nations charter." Larson would not allow him to expand on his statement.

Earlier, Larson refused to permit any detailed testimony by civil disobedience expert and historian Howard Zinn. He ruled that testimony by Zinn on the history of civil disobedience in America and its relevance to the case at hand would be "immaterial." Several of the 14 repeatedly tried questioning Zinn without avail. At one point in his testimony, Zinn continued to speak over the objections of the Judge and shouted, "Why won't you let me say anything *important* here?" The gavel descended in staccato raps and Larson exploded, "If you don't stop I'll have you put in the proper place where people are put who are improper in court!" Exit Zinn.

Subsequently, the Court instructed the 14 that they would have to outline, outside the presence of the jury, what testimony they expected to elicit from their further witnesses. Consistent with their tactics, the 14 conferred briefly at the defense table and announced to the Court that they refused to speak outside the presence of the jury. Thereafter, each time a witness for the defense was called, the jury was sent out, and Larson questioned each defendant:

"Mr. Ojile, will you tell the court the nature of the testimony of this witness?" Silence. "Let the record show that Mr. Ojile refuses to answer."

"Father Mullaney, will *you* tell the court the nature of the testimony of this witness?" Silence.

"Let the record show that Father Mullaney refuses to answer." On down the line, the Fourteen sat rigidly silent. The jury was called back in, the witness excused, another witness called, the jury sent out, another questioning, another silent boycott, and another, and another.

In a typical excursion from his "characteristic patience," Judge Larson stated that to allow the defendants or their witnesses to "moralize" about Vietnam or "philosophize" on the fairness of the draft would "be giving dignity to their [the defendants'] position, which I don't think should be done."

Jim Forest shot from his chair and in a loud voice exclaimed, "How can you call yourself a judge of this court and say a thing like that?" Larson attempted to qualify his statement, saying that he could not take judicial notice of anything he considered "irrelevant."

"I don't think you should explain," said Doug Marvy. "I think you should resign."

Earlier in the day Jon Higginbotham had called Larson "despicable." The epithet was hurled after Larson said he was convinced the defendants were receiving outside legal help because "time and again they have cited law, law which is pertinent and relevant, law which requires a skilled legal mind to ferret out . . . ."

Fred Ojile joined Higginbotham in the attack on Larson's suggestion that the defendants were being professionally counseled. "I had a year of law school and did every single bit of the research," shouted Fred.

At another point in the proceedings, Higginbotham described the sense of joy he had experienced while burning the Selective Service files. "I started dancing and clapping, and singing 'Ding Dong The Witch Is Dead.' "

ON Thursday of the second week, the prosecution rested its case with a flourish of exhibits: screwdrivers, used by "these men of obvious morality who have somehow gone astray"; containers for the homemade napalm, poured on Selective Service files by men who "think they can disturb the peace and dignity of the State of Wisconsin and get away with it"; charred records, burned by men "who just do not understand that we cannot give ourselves permission to break the law."

Indeed. If any one fact was salient throughout, it was precisely this, that men can actually believe they cannot give themselves permission to be fully human, to put aside fear and assume responsibility for one another; and it is that same brand of fear which is reinforced daily and hourly in the very hearts of Americans by the popular media instructing them on personal hygiene, sexual morality, political ethics, and the full art of competitive, materialistic one-upmanship. The gift of the

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huckster is exactly that—fear, plastic-wrapped in "new, improved" containers. And they are buying it with dollars and cents that also pay the salary of the draft board registrar and the racist alderman and the generals and corporate monarchs who jealously guard our inheritance as citizens of a free nation.

IN his closing remarks, Jim Forest told the jury: "I would ask you to remember that there is more at issue here than the futures of 12 men and their families. Much, much more. I say that because the question in this world is not whether change will come: it is *how* change will come. Will it be violent or nonviolent? Will it mean guerrilla warfare, will it mean more occupied ghettos, will it mean more innocent dead, will it mean tear and blister gas? Or is there another way? Jurors, as you search your hearts, please remember that in God's Providence, it has been determined that the decision is partly in your hands. . . .

"No matter how complicated it may have seemed as arguments raged and tempers were strained here, as witnesses were called and dismissed, as court rulings and the meaning of the law were argued—no matter how complicated it seemed, it is really very simple: *we are men who believe in life and freedom and community*. We all know first-hand that many innocent people are dying. We all know first-hand how many resources and how many human lives are being poured into what can only be called the sewer of war. We all know first-hand that the problems in which war and hatred are rooted are being ignored and put off. We all know that boys are being made to do what they neither believe in nor understand, but which they are afraid to question. We all know first-hand that the people aren't being asked, they are being pushed. We find ourselves at war with a country we never heard of until it was too late and the coffins were flowing home, and the politicians were safe at home talking about not wanting to lose face. To stop the madness, to save lives, to restore sanity, to deal with real problems that keep getting worse, we tried everything we could think of from writing letters and organizing the vote to visiting Congressmen and counseling the draft-eligible. But the war went on, the deadly rain of napalm continued, the dead and damaged bodies kept coming home.

"And so we took our futures out of the safety-box and decided to make it harder for the warriors to steal our friends and neighbors, even though we had never met most of them. We decided to try to give freedom back to the people. . . ."

They decided to try to give freedom back to the people. But it looks like the people weren't having any. Thank you not today. It wasn't "new, improved, super-freedom." Just the centuries-old brand that the timeless ones have always been offering.

There really was a portrait of Moses behind the Judge. And that Moses really did step down from the wall. Only the bailiffs took him into custody before he had a chance to smash the golden calf.

an exchange of views

'POSTSCRIPT ON NEGOTIATION NOW'

To the Editors: The irresponsible assault on Negotiation Now by Tom Ritt ["Postscript on Negotiation Now," April 18] based on a hodge-podge of out-of-context quotes from dusty inter-office memos asserts that N.N! is "all but moribund," that its position was "co-opted by the Johnson Administration," that Dr. Martin Luther King was dropped from the Sponsors' list, that we are "exclusionary and divisive," rigidly anti-Communist and see America as "doing no wrong on the world scene." All of these allegations are false.

Far from moribund, while much of the Vietnam protest movement has dissolved, or moved on to other issues, we are still actively seeking the adoption of the remaining steps of our program for peace in Vietnam. And we only wish it were true that our position had been "co-opted" by the Johnson Administration. The adoption of our program as U.S. policy is the objective of the Committee. If it had been co-opted, the war could have ended long ago. A look at the elements of our program from the beginning, starting with the petition campaign, will show that this charge is totally unfounded:

- An end of U.S. bombing of North Vietnam and other U.S. initiatives leading to a political settlement of the war;
- A response by the other side, and agreement by them to negotiate;
- Negotiations with all concerned parties, including the National Liberation Front;
- A standstill cease-fire by all sides;
- An International Peace-keeping Corps to oversee the cease-fire, political settlement, withdrawal of all outside military forces and protection of minorities;
- A political settlement based on democratic self-determination through free elections at the earliest possible

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date under the jurisdiction of a representative electoral commission assuring the right of all parties to participate in peaceful democratic political processes, with both sides agreeing to accept the results of the elections;

- A sweeping land reform program giving title to the tenants farming the land and providing compensation to landlords;
- Massive medical aid and relief to refugees, to bind the wounds of the war, and economic development channelled through the United Nations.

The first three points on this list were finally accomplished a year and a half after we started.

Over a third of all the American deaths in the war have occurred in the year since the Paris talks opened along with ten times as many Vietnamese soldiers, and countless civilians. To end the killing we are pressing the U.S. to offer at Paris a standstill ceasefire now, along with the broad outlines of a political settlement assuring all parties the right to pursue their political goals by peaceful means.

Mr. Ritt makes the ridiculous charge that we are in some measure responsible for "the continued existence of a divided Vietnam" (which he calls a "myth") and the patently false one that we "support the corrupt Saigon regime." In fact, we have criticized the Saigon government repeatedly and publicly for its violations of human rights. In Vietnam the demand for NLF participation in politics has led to the imprisonment by the Saigon government of hundreds of Buddhists, trade unionists, intellectuals and students.

Regarding the charge that we are "exclusionary" or "divisive," this committee has never attacked any other organization, in or out of the peace movement. Nor have we excluded anyone who wanted to join. We have worked in a way that is basic to the democratic process. A group of about twenty five concerned and like-minded organization leaders and individuals who wanted to bring about a change in U.S. policy in Vietnam, held a meeting in March, 1967. We drafted a statement spelling out a specific alternative course of action (outlined above). We believed that if this policy were adopted by the U.S. it could end the war in a way that would help bring some stability to Vietnam and perhaps even to Southeast Asia. We organized activities designed to convince the largest possible number of Americans to join with us in working for these policy changes. Everyone who wished to join was welcome. And while some did not choose to do so, we excluded no one.

There were other groups in the peace movement organized on different premises. Some of them called for the U.S. to just "get out of Vietnam." Some were based on simplistic anti-American slogans, condemning America but offering little in the way of an alternative. Those who agreed with that tone and that kind of action joined those groups. Many joined both, wanting to support any effort that might contribute toward ending the war. Some who really wanted the U.S. to simply get out joined N.N! for strategic reasons, seeing no possibility of mass support for immediate unilateral withdrawal of our troops.

Some of us who have been working for peace for many years don't see the problem in terms of simple protest against the U.S. It is clear that every nation relies primarily on military power, its own or its allies', for its security. Therefore, any peace movement based on simple condemnation of one side or the other is ignoring an important part of the problem.

This basic premise applies in Vietnam, where both sides are seeking to impose their will by violence on the people of South Vietnam. To support mindlessly either Dean Rusk or Ho Chi Minh is not, in our view, to contribute to a solution of the problem. The war will end when both sides stop their military action and substitute peaceful democratic political processes for violence.

We did not equate U.S. bombing of North Vietnam with the military activity of the Viet Cong. We called on the U.S. to take the first steps, unilaterally. Then we called on the other side to "respond affirmatively"; and we called negotiations for a democratic settlement "a moral alternative to escalation or continuation of the war, and a more realistic alternative than unilateral withdrawal." And while even this mild formulation was repugnant to some leaders in the peace movement who sought to build a coalition on simple opposition to the U.S., it was N.N!'s clearly stated position that brought several Catholic bishops as sponsors of the effort, along with other Americans of all faiths and varying political views. Indeed, Bishop John Wright joined only when he was certain that we recognized and condemned Viet Cong terrorism and systematic political assassination of village chiefs who did not support them.

Most N.N! supporters had another concern—the polarization of the national debate around extreme "right" or "left," "win" or "get out" solutions. Such confrontations almost inevitably strengthen the right, with danger of escalation to all-out war the probable consequence. So, in addition to offering a reasonable solution to the war, we wanted to contribute to constructive, rational, democratic debate of this most important issue of our time. Our intent was not to offer a "safe," "respectable" or "moderate" program. Rather, it was to offer a clear, specific, common-sense solution that could end the fighting by substituting democratic processes and a free choice for all the people of South Vietnam, with international involvement to help assure the processes of peace-keeping and political freedom.

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In attempting to deal with the serious political questions raised by Mr. Ritt (albeit obliquely) I have not intended to ignore the personal and organizational allegations. Further details on his exposé of the struggle in SANE, can be found in the *New York Times* sometime in October 1967. If the juicy, italicized quote from my memo of resignation titillated anyone's curiosity, the entire memo is available from me free upon request.

The impression of organizational in-fighting left by the article can be dismissed if one looks at the list of national co-chairmen who hardly have time for such petty organizational intrigue. Far from "figurehead" leaders, they put in countless hours working for this program. They include Clark Kerr, national chairman; and co-chairmen, Bishop John J. Dougherty, President, Seton Hall University; Arthur Flemming, President, Macalester College, former secretary of H.E.W.; Seymour Martin Lipset, Harvard Center for International Affairs; Philip Klutznick, American Bank and Trust, Chicago; Walter P. Reuther, President, UAW.; Bishop Leland Stark, Episcopal Diocese of Newark; and Earl P. Stevenson, Arthur D. Little Co., Cambridge. We invite *Commonweal* readers to join us in our next step to end the war.

Rather than "expanding in a forthcoming work" on these baseless, destructive, and pointless charges against a group of Americans working with persistence and dedication to end this brutal war, we suggest that Mr. Ritt might better spend his time toward the same end—with the organization of his choice, of course. MARY TEMPLE

Executive Director
National Committee for a Political
Settlement in Vietnam/Negotiation Now!

Reply

To the Editors: It would take a lengthy essay, even a book, to deal with Mrs. Temple's wordy, rambling letter. I have neither time nor inclination, although I feel bound to state, categorically, that nothing she writes, including imputations on my veracity, would cause me to change even a single comma of my "Postscript on Negotiation Now." It stands as written.

Moreover, Mrs. Temple notwithstanding, a simple truth seems now clear: the war is an obscenity, a depraved act which brings condemnation from most reflective people. But even at this late date, Mrs. Temple continues to reveal her political prejudices or her lack of knowledge. "Our intent," she writes, . . . "was to offer a clear, specific, common-sense solution . . . for all the people of *South* Vietnam" (emphasis added). She ignores the Geneva Accords of 1954; she implicitly accepts the *American* rationale: we fight to resist Communist aggression from the North. We may forgive the latter, because our propaganda has been effective, but how does a supposedly knowledgeable 15-year campaigner for peace ignore the Geneva Accords? Further, even if she be convinced that South Vietnam is entitled to legal justification, even so, why isn't she advocating American withdrawal? Why won't she permit the South Vietnamese to build their own nation without American dictation?

My contribution to the success of N.N! is a matter of record in the peace movement, so I see no point in engaging Mrs. Temple in debate over N.N!'s campaign. As the Rev. Richard John Neuhaus put it in the *National Catholic Reporter* (9/23/68) ". . . events have demonstrated that Negotiation Now was just a millimeter in advance of mainstream American opinion and its position on the war has now been co-opted by Richard Nixon and similar peaceniks . . ." The Rev. Mr. Neuhaus was closer to the truth than even he may know.

In my article, for example, I was specific. I did not use the scatter-gun technique as Mrs. Temple does in her defensive letter. I wrote then and repeat now: I *know* that certain staff members were exclusionary and divisive; that national sponsors *were* dropped while other critics of the war were not solicited because they were "politically dangerous"; that staff members were warned against pacifists like Dave Dellinger, activists like the Berrigan brothers and critics like Dr. Benjamin Spock and the advocates of the New Politics; that a paranoic fear of Communism colored the campaign; that a deliberate, well-planned, but fortunately unsuccessful campaign to destroy SANE was carried on by certain national staff members and their outside allies. It isn't pleasant to write like this, but peace is too important for anything but candor, particularly when young Americans continue to die in a senseless, barbaric war, when a scorched earth policy stains this nation's image around the world.

I will leave others to judge my work for peace. Many of my weekly radio programs are oriented toward ending the war. In lectures and public appearances I call for withdrawal of our troops so that Vietnam will be left to the Vietnamese and so that we may begin the long arduous task of reversing the tarnished image we have earned by our military imperialism. And there is hope. If even a President Nixon can consider unilateral withdrawal, perhaps it is not too late for Mrs. Mary Temple. TOM RITT

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For Timely Insights

Does the withdrawal of 25,000 American troops from Vietnam mean substantial deescalation, and greater willingness to negotiate, or is it actually a gesture intended to quiet growing demands of the electorate for peace? Can the Administration's insistence on the ABM system help negotiations with the Soviet Union on weapons controls, or will it set off instead a new spiral in the fearful thermonuclear arms race? What is the bearing of the question of authority on the chances for renewal in the Church? Each issue of Commonweal provides insights on just such questions.

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THE SCREEN

Last week it was "Midnight Cowboy" with its grim and grimy views of the New York scene especially the characters who hang out on 42nd Street. And this week two more movies turn the spotlight on Fun City and make one wonder if it's as much fun as it's cracked up to be. Displaying as it does the grim and grimy tenements and streets of the Spanish Harlem neighborhood, "Popi" is likely to make one wonder where the fun comes in at all. In spite of Arthur Hiller's excellent direction in this East Harlem setting where Popi, a Puerto Rican widower lives with his two young sons in a horrible flat in a horrible tenement in a horrible slum, and Andrew Laszlo's realistic photography (which would have been even more effective in black-and-white instead of color), the film has a certain warmth and feeling of family love that says home is home no matter how sordid and crime-ridden the locale.

This tone of amiability is due, no doubt, to the fine performance of Alan Arkin as the father who's holding down three jobs in better neighborhoods (dishwasher at the Hilton, handyman in an apartment building, orderly in a hospital) to earn enough money to get his boys out of this ghetto. Arkin sparkles as Popi—sometimes in the manner of the old Chaplin, and sometimes in zany Marx Brothers slapstick. And the two kids, played by Miguel Alejandro and Ruben Figueroa, are a delight—charming at times, naughty often and properly spanked by their father who loves them. Obviously Popi is not always wise and he shouldn't be quite so surprised when the older of the two boys has tried a little experimental hanky-panky with the girl downstairs—considering that Popi goes to bed with his mistress (Rita Moreno) from time to time in this one-room apartment while his knowing and smirking sons wait outside.

Popi's greatest error, although understandable, comes when he gets the bright idea how he can rescue his sons from their sordid background. He takes them to Florida, casts them adrift in a rowboat with an outboard motor, tells them to throw the motor overboard when it runs out of gas, and to speak only Spanish. He hopes they will be picked up as Cuban refugees and be adopted by some American millionaire. It is in the working out of this fantastic plot that scriptwriters Tina and Lester Pine and, as a matter of fact, everyone else concerned with the movie go awry. We are shown some amusing slapstick in the Florida scenes and some biting social satire; but the film's earlier realism is lost. However, Popi's impression that well-to-do Americans, who may neglect and even shun victims of poverty and slums, will be kind and generous to publicized refugees is an interesting comment on

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the American way. Actually so is the whole movie. If it hadn't tried so hard to sugar-coat its sociological theme with hilarious humor and sentimental touches (the finale is heartbreaking), "Popi" might have been one of the outstanding films of the year. As it stands, it's a good try.

One of the best things about "The April Fools" is the stunning color photography of New York City—none of the grim or grimy places, but just the best buildings and streets and posh apartments. Even lovely Catherine Deneuve, as wealthy Peter Lawford's French wife, cannot compete with these glowing views of Fun City. Jack Lemmon, looking a touch weary—but why wouldn't he with that shrewish wife in Darien—glows a bit when he sees Catherine at a swank cocktail party; so the two of them chase out for a drink, run into Myrna Loy at one of those mad psychedelic nightclubs, and go home with her to her Long Island estate—and spend the night mostly talking after Jack finishes fencing with Myrna's wacky husband (Charles Boyer). During the course of this taxing evening, Jack and Catherine decide they're in love—each being so unhappy with the spouse at home. So they decide to elope the next day. (At this point foolish Jack hasn't discovered that Catherine's husband is his new boss.) Anyway, Jack realizes who Catherine is and doesn't care. He says goodbye to the shrew in Darien, boards the Paris-bound plane where his true love of one day is waiting for him—and away they fly. This whole thing is so absurd and overdone that it is impossible to take even the problems in the two marriages seriously. And as a picture of New York it is slick, unimaginative and phony as all get-out. But it does have one marvelous line describing the handsome United Nations Plaza apartment building: "If there is a God, this is where He lives."

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

BOOKS

Technology and technological man: twin fetishes

TECHNOLOGICAL MAN

VICTOR C. FERKISS

Braziller, $7.95

THE GLOBAL CITY

THEODORE H. VON LAUE

Lippincott, $6.95

DICK HOWARD

Technology and "technological man" are more and more becoming the twin fetishes of today's social sciences. "Fetish" both in the sense of a mysterious power the comprehension of which occupies the science and popular mythology of the times, and in the sense of an incomprehensible and uncomprehended motif which seems, in some way, to control the destinies of man. As such, studies of technology, and the "technological man" which it is said to engender, usually treat only its *effects*, never its own essence. Such was also the nature of the "commodity" in classical political economy. Yet Marx, in perhaps the most important single section of *Kapital*, showed that the commodity-fetish, just like the fetish-gods of yore and the technological fetish of today, was nothing but the reification of factual human intercourse. After debunking the commodity-fetish, Marx was able to reconstruct the entire system of capitalist economics. Similarly, one would hope that a scientific study of technology today would begin by de-fetishizing this phenomenon, and would then proceed to show how the basic human relations which underlie it lead to the *effects* the social scientist attributes to it.

Victor C. Ferkiss seems to recognize this need. He devotes much energy to the debunking of the "science" of "futurism." After noting that Hiroshima was in a sense "the scientists' equivalent of the apple in the Garden of Eden . . ." (45), he notes:

"Only if we understand the ways in which industrial civilization differed from its predecessors as to the result of technological change can we hope to understand what technological changes now taking place may be on the way to transforming industrial society into a new civilization and to replacing its central symbolic figure, industrial man, with a new type, technological man." A little later, he suggests that, "Indeed, one reason why political philosophy is presently in such disrepair and disrepute is its failure to come to grips with the issues posed by the new technology and the advent of technological man." (58)

In fact Ferkiss' book never really does sufficiently deal with these problems; the reader finds a more interesting and comprehensive attempt in Von Laue's *The Global City*. Though a historian by profession, Von Laue has set out to write a systematic essay and not an historical monograph. He explains to the reader that this book was the result of a "liberating decision" to free himself from the confines of his profession—and one can only applaud him for the attempt! However, one wishes that he had liberated himself from his professional ivory tower a bit more when he says:

"Lest the author be accused of being a gloom-monger, he wishes to emphasize, furthermore, that the world which this essay tries to understand is decidely not of his own making. He takes no responsibility for the absurdities and brutalities of which it is so full, nor even for the pessimism which

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his views may arouse in some readers." This world may not be of Von Laue's "own making," but he certainly does bear a responsibility—as do we all!—for its "absurdities and brutalities," and the first step to changing these is to admit one's responsibility and to act upon it.

Von Laue attempts to create an intellectual model in terms of which the history of the past 50 years, and its future, can be understood. He speaks of the "Metropolitan" culture and way of life which has spread its vices and virtues, its hope and its despair, throughout the world in the "Great Outpouring." The age of technology has brought with it the "Great Confluence" in which the culture of the "Metropolis" clashes and blends with that of those "polities" which inhabit the "Cultural Slope" (i.e., are less and less "Metropolitan"). This leads to "Slope paradoxes," "Slope tragedies" and the like. Von Laue tries to explain nationalist revolutions, communism and national socialism, alienation and intellectual normlessness, democracy and dictatorship—in short, all of the successes and failures, comedies and tragedies of modern times—in terms of the conflict and confluence between the "Metropolis" and non-Metropolitan nations.

The analytical results of Von Laue's intellectual exercise are interesting and often enlightening; often, however, the opposite is the case. Take, for example, his discussion of imperialism. Leaving aside the cryptic comment that "the author has always maintained that a man's nose is his most imperialist organ," he comments that:

"In essence imperialism, we should say, was not only a competition for political power; nor a search for markets for surplus capital and goods or for outlets for surplus population; nor a lapse into a feudal zest for fighting for its own sake; nor the white man's burden. It was much more—nothing less than the great outpouring of all that Europe and western civilization had achieved in two-thousand-year gestation, a giant outward leap of the metropolis."

Perhaps. But this says everything and nothing about imperialism (and even less about the US aggression in Vietnam). Under the guise of profundity it is the banal truth that with capitalist economic control came capitalist culture and mores. Were he to think again about this statement, I suspect that Von Laue would not want to say that the capitalist culture represented "all that Europe and western civilization had achieved in two-thousand-year gestation. . . ."

Von Laue's solution to the "Slope paradox," and to all of the problems of the technological age, is the creation of a "transcendent metropolis." This would seem to be an *organic state, à la* Hegel, whose main feature is the "coordination of wills." Von Laue speaks frequently of this "coordination of wills," suggesting, for example, that "man himself must be a clock, body and soul." This "coordination of wills" is "the underlying moral premise of this essay." Von Laue rejects the totalitarianism of a Hitler (which he notes, didn't in fact achieve the "coordination of wills"), and sees the problems of establishing true democracy in our age. What he means by the "transcendent metropolis" and its "coordination of wills" is rather difficult to understand.

It should be noted, in criticism of Von Laue's theory, that the "Metropolis" is in fact nothing other than the capitalist economic system, and that Marx—the man who rated capitalism's achievements more highly even than its apologists—had predicted its extension, and the conflicts which would result therefrom. Von Laue is presenting—and modifying—some century-old ideas. Von Laue notes that "Rather than view the course of recent history as a chain of antiwestern revolts, as is commonly done, we should interpret it then as a series of revolutionary steps toward further westernization." This is certainly true, even of the Communist revolutions.

Von Laue seems to have been caught up in his quest for a "system" such as that of Toynbee, to whom "with a respectful distant bow," this book is dedicated. In a little known but important essay, Lenin attacks the sociologist Pitirim Sorokin who had resigned his position in the Constituent Assembly of 1917 in favor of "work in the sphere of science and education [which] is always useful and is always needed by the people." This kind of attitude which finds the uncultured and unscientific nature of politics beneath its dignity can not help but, with Von Laue, "take no responsibility for the absurdities and brutalities" of the world.

On the other hand, Ferkiss is not caught up in this quest for systematicity, and in many ways his book is all the more valuable for it. *Technological Man* is a treasure-house of factual information and analysis; it makes light, pleasant reading, and is richly documented (54 pages of Notes and Bibliography).

Ferkiss' major thesis is that "Technological man . . . does not exist. There is no new man emerging to replace the economic man of industrial society or the liberal democratic man of the bourgeois political order." Yet, "the races's only salvation is in the creation of technological man." Technological man, according to Ferkiss, must be created if the technological advances which, incontestably, are being made, are not to turn about against man, their creator.

"The existential revolution threatens virtually to destroy civilization as we have known it to alter fundamentally the nature of man and his relations to the universe. *Yet the economic institutions created by bourgeois man remain essentially unchanged* despite rising uneasiness among prophets and public alike, as do the political institutions that would logically be the means through which the total community would meet the challenges posed by technological change." (italics mine) Yet, for all of this, Ferkiss can only propose a series of vague guidelines and ideal changes, based on the need for a "new naturalism" (understanding man as part of nature), a "new holism" (understanding the interrelations between one's decisions and acts), and a

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"new immanentism" (understanding one's life as due to one's self and not an external God).

In sum, neither Ferkiss nor Von Laue succeeds in de-fetishizing technology. Their essays are interesting, in different ways, and thought-provoking. Von Laue's pessimism about the loss of "metropolitan values" seems misplaced; if they are the result of the "two-thousand-year gestation," the values which replace them are those of a two-thousand-*plus*-year gestation, and one of all mankind, not just Occidental man. Ferkiss' impotence to effect the changes which he sees as necessary in order to introduce technological man is due to his under-estimation of the role of the economic infrastructure in our society. Though he admits that "the new technology has not at all affected any of the fundamental aspects of the capitalist-industrial system," he does not conclude—why?—that that system must be changed in order to liberate the benefits of the new technology—and man as well.

Man's Condition: God and the World Process

WILLIAM C. SHEPHERD

Herder & Herder, $5.95

ALBERT L. SCHLITZER

In March 1966 an International Conference was held at the University of Notre Dame to implement the purpose of the Second Vatican Council to vitalize the role of the Christian people in the modern world. At it the distinguished Protestant theologian, Joseph Sittler, pleaded for a theology of grace. He meant, I believe, that we must put our minds and our talents together to rethink the place of God in the World of today. We must bring God and the World together again; we must convince ourselves and strive to convince our fellowmen that God has an authentic part to play in the ongoing situation of the World.

In this connection it may be helpful to reread the words of Dietrich Bonhoeffer: "It is possible nowadays to find answers to these problems which leave God right out of the picture. It just isn't true to say that Christianity alone has the answers. In fact the Christian answers are no more conclusive or compelling than any of the others. Once more, God cannot be used as a stopgap. We must not wait until we are at the end of our tether: *he must be found at the center of life*: in life, and not only in death; in health and vigor, and not only in suffering; in activity and not only in sin. The ground for this lies in the revelation of God in Christ." His well-known question: "how can we reclaim for Christ a world which has come of age?" is just as pertinent today, as when it was asked in the first place.

The temper of the contemporary mind is for movement, not for established social and cultural and religious patterns; for questioning even the most "sacred" principles of thought and conduct, not acquiescence in traditional views and values; for searching the meaning of life in life itself, not in metaphysical and transcendent first principles; for an ongoing evolutionary world in process from beginning to end, not in a static universe; yes, for a God, who is imminent in the onward thrust of the process of the cosmos, not one who coolly stands apart in his transcendence. Can God be discovered to have an authentic place and part in the intellectual and emotional temper of the day?

In his book with the captivating title, *Man's Condition: God and the World Process*, William Shepherd tries to do just that. Not that he pleads rhetorically the case of God, but relies solely on the persuasiveness of intellectual argumentation, implying, I presume, that many of those who are professed atheists are anonymous Christians: the God whom they deny is not the true God; but what they actually believe in is tantamount to a genuine belief in the true God.

The fulcrum of Shepherd's argumentation is the unquestioned conviction today that man, in all that he is, is completely the product of evolution; that he is wholly integral to the process, and in no sense inserted into the world by an act of divine intervention.

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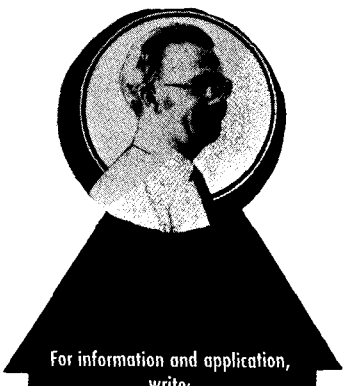

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He wholeheartedly shares Teilhard's contention that spirit evolved from matter. Very vital, too, for his thesis, is that man is intrinsically involved in the supernatural from the very first stirrings of his origin from matter. He insists that the question of the relationship of God to man is badly put, if it concentrates on man's being; rather, it should concentrate on man's condition. Man was not raised to the supernatural. He originated in the supernatural.

Karl Rahner is very much on stage throughout the book, and is in fact upstaged at the end. Shepherd gives an interesting and on the whole quite readable interpretation of Rahner and pulls together in a coherent organic whole elements that are scattered in various works of Rahner. In the last few pages of the book Shepherd claims to go beyond Rahner and propose a new theory of nature and grace. How "new" this theory is may be left to the reader to judge. Shepherd denies that he is a disciple of Rahner, and toward the end of the book as much as says that his solution of the age-old question of nature and grace can do without Rahner. I think that Rahner would welcome this, and charge in turn that Shepherd's new theory is no solution at all. An appeal to man's *situation* rather than his being merely obfuscates the issue.

Simultaneous origin of nature and grace proves, if you will, that the two are compatible, but not how they can form one together in perfect harmony. Shepherd does not like the word "receive." Some would prefer the wisdom of Scripture to his: "You have *received* the spirit of sonship. When we cry, 'Abba! Father!' it is the Spirit himself bearing witness with our spirit that we are children of God."

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REVIEWERS

DICK HOWARD is editing a volume of Rosa Luxemburg's writings.

FATHER ALBERT L. SCHLITZER, C.S.C., teaches theology at the University of Notre Dame.

MARTIN TUCKER is the author of *Africa in Modern Literature* (Ungar).

JAMES DRANE's latest book is *Authority and Institution: A Study in Church Crisis* (Bruce).

Pictures of Fidelman

BERNARD MALAMUD

Farrar, Straus, $5.95

MARTIN TUCKER

"My loss is my gain" might be the subtitle of Malamud's new collection of stories. In five of the six stories in this book, the hero, Arthur Fidelman, must lose something valuable in order to gain a truth or a further understanding. What he loses turns out to have been one more obstacle or wall between him and himself.

At the least this "loss" seems the controlling idea in Malamud's fiction. Some critics have called it Malamud's addiction to failure, his obsession with the bumbler who keeps fumbling the ball but who somehow achieves a goal deeper and higher than the winning side. It is a view—call it technique or vision, formalistic or obsessive—that has shaped Malamud's best as well as worst work. In *The Assistant*, Malamud's early and highly praised novel, a Jew and a Catholic shed their accepted beliefs and in the loss of their familiar assumptions find a new shelter, a benevolence of spirit that feeds the source of their beings. In Malamud's last-published novel, *The Fixer*, the hero is a nice medieval *nebbish* who goes his own way, does his own thing quietly, a jester with a kind of tattered elegant sense of gesture. Only when he is accused of a crime he did not commit and is brutally tortured, does the hero rise to a sense of his own nobility. The hero accepts his due for what he has *not* done, a reward for failure or non-commission. In accepting his failures, he rises to a sort of grandeur.

Both *The Assistant* and *The Fixer* represent Malamud at his best. *Pictures of Fidelman* contains some good Malamud, but it is not a choice exhibition. The collection contains three new stories and three stories previously printed in slightly different versions. All are centered around Fidelman, the aspiring, suffering painter in Italy. In the first story, "Last Mohican," Fidelman rejects a plea from a Jewish con man, Susskind, for money and a suit of clothes, and finds several days later that his briefcase is missing from his hotel room. In the briefcase is his chapter on Giotto, on which he has been working for years. Fidelman searches Rome for Susskind and finally finds him; Fidelman finds his briefcase in Susskind's room, but the chapter on Giotto is missing from the briefcase. In a funny chase after Susskind through the streets of Rome, Fidelman realizes Susskind was right in taking away his chapter: it is time to move on, and the chapter was keeping Fidelman back. The victim of stealth forgives his oppressor.

In "Still Life" Fidelman loses his dignity but gains his lady love, a painter of no particular talent who has rented him a studio in which Fidelman practically freezes each time he puts naked fingers to clothed brush. But Fidelman is obsessed with his love—she is an aging, flabby beauty who continues to paints scores of self-portraits which she will not allow Fidelman to view. Fidelman finally succeeds in possessing her by losing his sense of pride, gaining a perverse humility and running back to his studio to paint himself as a priest of love.

In the last story, "Glass Blower of Venice," Fidelman must lose not only a chapter of his book, his pride and his identity (in an earlier story he is deprived of his passport), but all his paintings. In Venice he has an affair with an attractive lady. The husband catches his wife and Fidelman in bed; he pushes his wife out of the bed and rapes Fidelman. As if this is not enough loss, the husband slashes all of Fidelman's canvases because they are forces which are holding Fidelman onto the past. In losing his canvases Fidelman gains his future. He sets up house with the husband, takes a job in a glass blowing factory, and seems content. Soon however the wife begs him to leave her husband, and Fidelman returns to America where "he worked as a craftsman in glass and loved men and women."

Malamud's reliance on this vision of loss sometimes seems a trick, not so

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much an obsession as a craft or tool. It is this lack of "loss" in Malamud's style—or perhaps in the totality of his stories here in this book—that makes the reader wonder whether Malamud is trying to fool the reader, or himself, or both. He has got onto a good thing—he understands the man who is always assaulted, who manages to be in the exact spot where the garbage is going to fall from the window that someone has nonchalantly tossed out. But in these stories he has contrived losses that do not grow out of the situation. His people tease and egg on misfortune. The inevitability of the common happenstance—and hence the comic view—is missing here. What is in its place is a set of arbitary situations that are often handled adroitly but are more like acts of Malamud fiddling while the world burns. Or as Fidelman described himself in one of the stories—he is a "Fiddleman."

Hopefully this book is an interlude. It contains flashes of genius, but it is mainly a substitution of fantasy and technique for vision. The result is insubstantial Malamud, no matter how amusing Fidelman may be at times.

The Reasonableness of Faith

DIOGENES ALLEN
Corpus Books, $4.95

Science, Secularization, and God

KENNETH CAUTHEN
Abingdon Press, $5.50

JAMES DRANE

Diogenes Allen joins the long list of Christian apologists stretching back to the early Church Fathers and responds to contemporary critics with the thesis that religious faith is self-validating. Faith for him is a sound ground for adhering to religious assertions, independently of reasons which count toward establishing their truth. His position is a radical one in the sense that it presumes to end the age-old confrontation between faith and reason once and for all by making faith immune from dependence on reason and rational criticism.

Yet again, Allen is very traditional. His book reemphasizes the Reformation distrust of any reasoned approach to God, the Kierkegaardian emphasis on faith as a life style and the ancient problem of the nature of faith and religious expression heated up by Wittgenstein's ideas on language. He argues that Christianity is primarily a medium of redemption and as long as it "satisfies a desire to have one's life healed and saved," opposing philosophical views do not touch it in its essence. The reasonableness of faith for Allen is not founded on reason in the classical sense (*ratio*—the form, feature, structure or perfection of a thing on which the mind focuses, making it intelligible rather than absurd). "Reasonableness" for him is a greatly enlarged notion which takes into account the possibility that God and all religious expressions are meaningless.

It is linguistic analysis rather than continental existentialism with which Allen is concerned and against whose objections he addresses his apologetic. He offers us a survey of the most important positions of logical positivism and demonstrates unusual competence in synthesizing the principal variations. Allen does not hide his sympathy for the criticisms directed against statements of religious faith by the language philosophers. As a radical Protestant he feels more comfortable with a faith which is unmediated by anything human; logical positivists, building on the foundation laid by Kant and Hume, have in his opinion exposed the illusion of a faith founded on human reason.

Allen begins his defense of faith as reasonable only after conceding that religious statements or expressions of religious belief are meaningless in the sense that as claims to truth or falsity they can never be supported by a commonly accepted criterion and therefore lead only to stalemates. Although religious statements sound like truth claims (e.g., God created the world—Christ redeemed us from our sins by his death on the cross, etc.) and are affirmed as such by the faithful, no verification of these is possible. In fact, the whole endeaver of offering rational argumentation or support for these claims involves the Christian in a commitment to some sort of metaphysical position and it is from just such involvement that Allen would like to extricate him.

Allen wants to make the faith safe from the fiery darts of opposing philosophies and world views by establishing criteria for faith which neutralizes

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its truth claims and thereby make either cultural or philosophical objections *à-côté*. Christianity is reasonable for him because it satisfies needs and not because it makes any true statements about the nature of God, man, or the world. The reasonableness of believing or affirming belief in religious propositions does not depend on the ground of reason, or fundamental knowledgeable features of the realities affirmed but rather on the adequacy of the belief, in and by itself, to satisfy human needs. Satisfaction of human needs does not count towards showing the belief to be true, but it does make it "reasonable" to adhere to the belief.

One misses in this otherwise careful treatment any discussion of a most serious objection to this type of thesis —i.e., Feuerbach's view of religion as a projection of man's inner needs and hopes into an outer reality called God. One also misses a discussion of why the Christian faith satisfies. What is there about man which makes it possible for God, revelation, biblical expressions, to heal him, satisfy him, and redeem him?

The metaphysics which Allen would like to ignore is forced into his own thesis when he grapples with the demands for clarification of his stand. Distinguishing between real from unreal human needs clearly necessitates an ontology of man. Other concessions to metaphysics show up in his insistence on Creation as central to belief, separating orthodox from heterodox expressions of faith and spelling out the meaning of redemption.

Allen's thesis is argued with clarity and with a tight logical order which would delight any rationalist. The book cannot but be a great help to students of philosophy and theology interested in the problem of belief and the relationship of religion to contemporary linguistic philosophy. To the end, however, one cannot avoid the impression that the author could have directed his efforts to more important targets. It is from Feuerbach, Nietzsche, Sartre, Merleau-Ponty, Jaspers and not for Flew, Smart, Ayer, Swanson, and Van-Buren that the most telling criticisms of Christianity come. The former insist that religious faith, far from healing man, as Allen claims, has historically created a sickness, blindness, narrowness and a cruelty all its own. Unless the faith can answer these objections and address itself effectively to the demands for a new humanism, it does not deserve to survive, let alone be made safe from the verification principle.

Kenneth Cauthen, in *Science, Secularization and God*, emphatically reintroduces into Christianity the metaphysics which Allen had exiled. Rather than accept Kant's critique of metaphysics and proceed with an apologetic based on the demands of practical reason (necessities of human life) Cauthen insists that "a philosophy of nature is needed in which the themes of the universal sovereignty of God and the goodness of creation can be more adequately stated." Secularization, which is not mentioned by Allen, is seen (along with science) as the maker of the modern consciousness, and Cauthen struggles to elaborate an apologetic founded on contemporary man's experience of secularity. He believes the best route toward an appropriate theology of secularity to be "a biblically informed, metaphysically elaborated, and scientifically relevant doctrine of creation in which Christ is seen as the clue to the Cosmos as well as to History." Theologians, according to the author, must "deal with being as well as with language, with the cosmos as well as with human reality."

To read *Science, Secularization and God* along with *The Reasonableness of Faith* is to experience the inadequacy of historical tags like "Protestant," to give any clue to the direction of a man's theology. Cauthen is crypto-Catholic in his approach and as far separated from Allen theologically as Fr. Johann, S.J., is from Fr. Ford, S.J. Cauthen's book is a theological popularization. It attempts a synthesis of current thought on nature, history, man, and God. He touches all the bases, cites most of today's influential thinkers, and wrestles with all the big problems.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 403)

various types of CO and until the law gives the chaplain a more influential role in deciding the fate of the CO, I think Zahn ought to get off the chaplain's back and write to his Congressman.

Maybe Zahn knows more about theological obtuseness and moral cowardliness of chaplains than I do. Until recently I have been one for nearly nine years. But from where I stood I admired the wisdom of chaplains doing a difficult job. In general, I never thought they sold their souls to the military. If they thought they should speak out, they spoke out and let the chips fall where they may. Of course this was not done at a press conference or before TV cameras. Maybe Zahn would prefer this way as his rather flamboyant article seems to indicate.

Finally, the chaplain does recognize legitimate military authority like a good Christian should but he *never* exercises military authority himself—despite Zahn's concluding remarks.

I have had happy days as an Army chaplain. Never was I handicapped in preaching the Gospel. Maybe Zahn knows more about the military and the chaplains than I do but from my experience I really don't think he knows the military as well as he thinks he does nor does he exercise as much fraternal charity as I am sure he wants to.

(REV.) RUPERT A. LUTZ, O.F.M.

Reply

I am not surprised by Fr. Lutz's reaction to my article, but I am disappointed that he chose to stick to the level of emotional assertion instead of providing factual evidence to refute my conclusions. If he can cite instances in which chaplains openly protested such documented acts as the killing of enemy prisoners (whether by Ameri-

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cans directly or by the South Vietnamese to whom the captives were turned over), the use of torture in interrogation, or the destruction by napalm or saturation raids of "extensive areas along with their population" (condemned by Vatican II as "a crime against God and man himself"), all of us would be happy and proud to hear of them. If he can go further and indicate how many sermons have been preached to men in the field or air crews on the bases stressing the immorality of such acts and counseling the military parishioners to refuse to participate in them, this, too, would be extremely important information.

Lacking these, we must make do with the published statements of chaplains, including those cited in my article, or the reports one gets from servicemen who do find chaplains quite unreceptive toward their claims to conscientious objection. The occasional word-of-mouth reports one gets of chaplains saying such things as "I'm a soldier first and a chaplain second" or describing their own exploits of killing enemies who might invade their tent may be discounted as individual and unrepresentative exceptions; but this would be easier to do if we could balance them with accounts of chaplains who were able to "detach" themselves from military rules and formulations when issues requiring broader moral guidance arise. Fr. Lutz will be interested to know that a long-term American chaplain, still on reserve status, read my complete RAF manuscript. Not only was he generous in his praise (including the compliment that he was amazed at my ability "to think like a chaplain"), but he proceeded to add a couple of pages of his own experiences and observations to support the very hypothesis Fr. Lutz so indignantly rejects.

But the real point of my article, the demilitarization of the chaplaincy, is ignored by Fr. Lutz. In this connection I have a letter from one of our highest-ranking ecclesiastics who commends me for bringing this issue out into the open. He states his long-held opinion that the Chaplains Corps should be "distinct from the military authorities and that no rank whatsoever should be given to Chaplains." This, and not Fr. Lutz's evaluation of my competence or incompetence as a sociologist, should be the issue given top priority.

GORDON ZAHN

NCOMP's Newslettter

New York

To the Editors: Richard Corliss' well-researched article, "Still Legion, Still Decent?" [May 23] is quite a fair estimate of the necessity for such an office, as well as recent NCOMP *faux pas* and successes, all of which are effects resulting from the world's most elaborate if not best mousetrap.

But I challenge his estimate of the educational value of the *Catholic Film Newsletter*. Formerly written at the National Center for Film Study by Mr. Henry Herx and his associates in New York and Chicago, it featured besides reviews a lot of material about directors, film style, theory, and aesthetics along with hard information about film programs in schools and summer institutions in film appreciation. The old format was admittedly dull but the reviews were more competently if unsensationally written.

NCOMP deals in only one area of film—the big theatrical feature, neglecting the vast area of the non-theatrical short film. The unsigned reviews have the effect of raising subjective opinion to the level of objectivity. With the prestige of the office (presumably of the Church) behind it, such opinion becomes the "official" way to think about a particular film, tantamount to law for some Catholics. The area of the institutional review needs further debate; in my opinion the reviews should be signed and a dialogue initiated with *Newsletter* readers. Predigested opinion, regardless of its credentials, is no longer educative in or out of the Church.

The professional aesthetes with no moral conscience or publicity-oriented commercial interests will become the only voice of film culture in the United States unless the Church thru NCOMP becomes deeply engaged with film education. A good start was made with the film notes, study guides, advice and backing from the Center for Film Study, now in the state of suspension as the educational arm of NCOMP. This activity should be resurrected, reorganized and continued. Intelligently conceived film programs are under fire in Catholic schools. Their teachers need not only moral support but the kind of "software" only NCOMP can provide.

The power of the education-film as art partnership to "turn students on," to humanize them and to liberate their spirits from long hours of amorphous viewing experience is great. NCOMP is presently of little help to this partnership. Young people need guidance; prohibition in any form is not the answer.

Finally, NCOMP must seriously and constantly take counsel with prominent secular critics to keep its own position fresh and valid. Theologians of all persuasions should be consulted in order to develop a theology of art and communications relevant to the 20th Century.

(REV.) J. PAUL CARRICO, C.S.C.

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